

Message Text

SECRET

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TO USMISSION GENEVA

S E C R E T STATE 026692

EXDIS

FOLLOWING REPEAT SECRET BONN 1737 ACTION SECSTATE 31
JANUARY.

QUOTE

S E C R E T BONN 01737

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, CSCE, EC, US, GW, UR

SUBJECT: CSCE: GERMAN VIEWS ON PEACEFUL CHANGE

1. AT JANUARY 30 MEETING WITH AMBASSADOR, FOREIGN OFFICE
POLITICAL DIRECTOR VAN WELL SAID HE HAD NOT INFORMED HIS
EC COLLEAGUES, DURING DISCUSSION OF CSCE AT LAST WEEK'S
POLITICAL COMMITTEE MEETING IN DUBLIN, OF SCENARIO WORKED
OUT WITH WASHINGTON FOR FURTHER NEGOTIATIONS WITH SOVIETS
ON PEACEFUL CHANGE FORMULATION. HE TOLD THEM IN GENERAL
TERMS THAT THE US WOULD "UNDERTAKE THE NECESSARY SOUND-
INGS". HE INDICATED THAT THE FRG WAS PREPARED UNDER
CERTAIN CIRCUMSTANCES TO ACCEPT CHANGES IN THE JULY 26

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FORMULATION, BUT PROVIDED NO FURTHER DETAILS. HE

STRESSED TO THEM THAT IT WAS A "POSITIVE FORMULATION"
AND THAT IT WAS NECESSARY THAT WHATEVER FORMULATION WAS
ULTIMATELY AGREED UPON REMAIN POSITIVE.

2. IN THE MEANTIME, VAN WELL SAID, HE HAD RECEIVED A
REPORT OF A JANUARY 20 CONVERSATION IN MOSCOW BETWEEN
FRG AMBASSADOR SAHM AND SOVIET DEPUTY FOREIGN MINISTER
ZEMSKOV IN WHICH THE LATTER HAD POUNCED ON THE PEACEFUL
CHANGE ISSUE, CHARGING THE FRG WITH MOVING AWAY FROM AN
AGREED FORMULATION AND INDICATING THAT THE USSR INTENDED
TO RETURN TO THE FORMULATION OF APRIL 5, 1974. VAN WELL
SAID HE HAD TOLD THE POLITICAL COMMITTEE THAT IF THE
SOVIETS INSISTED ON THAT FORMULATION IT WOULD RAISE ONCE
AGAIN THE WHOLE ISSUE OF PLACEMENT. THE FRG'S POSITION
WILL THEN BE TO INSIST THAT IT BE PLACED IN THE
PRINCIPLE ON INVIOABILITY OF FRONTIERS. THE FRG
BELIEVES THAT THE WORDING OF THE STATEMENT ABOUT PEACE-
FUL CHANGE SHOULD BE CONSISTENT WITH THE SPIRIT OF THE
PRINCIPLE IN WHICH IT IS INCLUDED. THE FRG IS WILLING
TO INCLUDE IT UNDER THE FIRST PRINCIPLE ON SOVEREIGNTY,
BUT ONLY IF IT IS COUCHED IN TERMS THAT MAKE CLEAR THAT
A PEACEFUL CHANGE OF BORDERS IS A POSITIVE SOVEREIGN
RIGHT OF A COUNTRY ACTING IN AGREEMENT WITH OTHERS
AFFECTED BY THE CHANGE. VAN WELL SAID THE FRENCH REP AT
THE POLITICAL COMMITTEE HAD ASKED THAT THE FRG ALSO
CONSIDER THE POSSIBILITY OF INCLUDING IT IN THE PRINCIPLE
ON TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY OR THE ONE ON RENUNCIATION
OF FORCE. VAN WELL SAID HE COULD OF COURSE NOT REFUSE
TO EXAMINE THIS, BUT HE MADE QUITE CLEAR THAT THE FRG'S
INCLINATION AT THE PRESENT TIME, IF THE SOVIETS INSIST
ON RETURNING TO THE POSITION OF APRIL 5, IS TO GO ALL
THE WAY BACK TO THE SITUATION WHICH EXISTED AT THAT
TIME, WHICH WOULD MEAN PUTTING THE PEACEFUL CHANGE
LANGUAGE INTO THE PRINCIPLE ON INVIOABILITY OF
FRONTIERS.

3. VAN WELL MENTIONED THAT THE NINE POLITICAL DIRECTORS
HAD AGREED THAT THE PLACEMENT OF THE PEACEFUL CHANGE
LANGUAGE, SHOULD IT AGAIN BECOME AN ISSUE, WOULD HAVE TO
BE DECIDED BEFORE THE END OF THE FIRST READING OF THE
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PRINCIPLES.
HILLENBRAND UNQUOTE KISSINGER

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